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ABSTRACT

This paper is a preliminary report of findings from a study of racial attitudes toward black/white inequalities, conducted as part of the Social Indicators project at the Survey Research Centers at the University of California at Berkeley. Data were collected from a cross-sectional sample of the adult population of the five county San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical area. Data are reported for the weighted white sample of 198 respondents. It is postulated that insofar as prejudice can be regarded as a cognitive phenomenon, it comprises three elements: (1) perceptions of the nature and extent of group differences; (2) explanations of how such differences came about; and, (3) prescriptions for public policy and personal involvement to perpetuate, accentuate or diminish racial inequalities. Six baxic types of explanations. referred to as explanatory modes, are identified. Three major findings are reported: (1) explanatory modes differentially predict prescriptions endorsed; (2) respondents are differentially recruited into explanatory mode categories from different segments of the social structure; and, (3) relationships between the mode positions and policy preferences are not reducible to those which exist between structural characteristics and prescriptions. (Author/JM)

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SOCIAL INDICATORS OF RACIAL PERSPECTIVES

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This paper is a preliminary report of findings from a study of racial attitudes towards black/white inequalities, conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area as part of the Social Indicators project at the Survey Research Center at the University of California at Berkeley. Data were collected from a cross-sectional sample of the adult population of the five-county San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Data are reported for the weighted white sample of 698 respondents.

It is postulated that insofar as prejudice can be regarded as a cognitive phenomenon, it comprises three elements rather than one: (1) perceptions of the nature and extent of group differences; (2) explanations of how such differences came about; and (3) prescriptions for public policy and personal involvement to perpetuate, accentuate or diminish racial inequalities.

Six basic types of explanations, referred to as explanatory modes, are identified: (1) Alger, that inequalities can be explained in terms of individual personal failures; (2) culture, that blacks and whites have different cultures emphasizing different values or goals; (3) overt, that differences in social position have their origin in organized forms of white oppression and discrimination; (4) latent, that existing differences are a legacy of past discrimination which has not continued into the present; (5) genetic, that the differences are biological in origin; and (6) supernatural, that God made the races different.

Three major findings are reported. (1) Explanatory modes differentially predict prescriptions endorsed, both personal and governmental policy orientation. (2) Respondents are differentially recruited into explanatory mode categories from different segments of the social structure. (3) Relationships between the mode positions and policy preferences are not reducible to those which exist between structural characteristics and prescriptions.

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This paper is intended to be a preliminary report of findings from a study of racial attitudes which has been conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area as part of the Social Indicators project at the Survey Research Center at the University of California at Berkeley. To date, our work has proceeded in three stages. Preliminary depth interviewing was done during 1971, and, on the basis of this work, a fifteen-minute battery of questions was designed and included in a joint project survey of the Bay Area in 1972.[1] We then constructed a longer, more comprehensive questionnaire which was used in a survey which is now being completed. This report is based on data from the first survey.

Racial Prejudice: The Theoretical and Conceptual Problems

Research on race relations in the United States has primarily been concerned with racial prejudice, with its character, its origins, and its consequences. Further, the focus has been on prejudice as false and negative racial stereotypes which one group possesses of another. There are several difficulties now evident with such an approach. First, the existing literature has ignored the possibility that racial stereotypes contain elements of truth, and that the relative degree of truth may vary from situation to situation. A second problem arises, from a social indicator point of view, in the fact that stereotypes concern racial issues whose

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1. The results of our depth interviewing are reported in Richard Apostle, Richard Conley, Charles Glock, Cliff McGlotten, Richard Ofshe, and Marijean Suelzle, "A Model for the Structure of Cognitions of Racial Differences and Evaluations of Planned Social Change", Paper presented at the July, 1972 Russell Sage Foundation Conference on Social Indicator Models.

significance and meaning varies from one time period to another. Collecting information of this sort over time is not likely to provide a valid and reliable basis for identifying change in the level and character of racial prejudice in a population over time. Further, it is possible that stereotypes and other perceptions at a simple cognitive level may vary independently of the overall structure of white racial belief systems. Insofar as such belief systems are considered important referents in understanding and measuring changes in racial prejudice, it seems unlikely that the traditional approaches to the study of racial prejudice are adequate.

Our preliminary work led us to postulate that, insofar as prejudice can be regarded as a cognitive phenomenon, it comprises three elements rather than one. Stereotyping, or more appropriately, perception, constitutes one of these elements. By perception we refer to all those beliefs which are held concerning the nature and extent of group differences. With respect to racial prejudice, the element of perception is constituted by the universe of ways that blacks and whites are thought to be different or the same. The second cognitive dimension of racial prejudice is explanation. This element emerges out of the postulate that all perception of group differences is accompanied by some explanation, however naively formulated and understood, of how such differences come about. Just as perceptions of group differences are subject to variation, so are explanations. Indeed, common perceptions can be variously explained, which, incidentally, is another reason

for not relying on perceptions alone to indicate the presence or absence of prejudice. For example, the perception that blacks are more likely than whites to get into trouble with the police may be understood as resulting from inherent weaknesses in black character, as due to black frustration at the relative lack of opportunity afforded them in a white society, as a result of discrimination practiced by the police, and so on. The third cognitive element we isolated in our research is the prescriptive one. This generally concerns a person's orientation to public policy in race relations and what he or she is personally willing to do to achieve, oppose, or ignore racial equality.

Each of these three elements, we suggest, must be taken into account in any effort to comprehend how group differences are understood, but primary emphasis has been placed on the significance of the explanatory forms, or, as we have come to call them, "explanatory modes". It is our conclusion, from the depth interview work, and preliminary analysis of the data from the first survey, that the explanatory forms have a central role in organizing perceptual information and judgments, and that they will prove to be better measures of racial beliefs and belief systems than those now current in the race relations literature. Our depth interviews isolated six basic tendencies, or "explanatory modes" with which people operate to explain various forms of racial differences.

One basic explanatory mode which people employ to account for racial difference and inequality is an individualistic one;

that is, inequalities observed in the average position of whites and blacks in this country are explained in terms of the personal failures, occupational and otherwise, of members of the subordinate group to compete for the scarce resources and values of this society. We have designated this the "Alger" mode.

A second explanatory mode employed by whites is a cultural one. The primary argument here is that blacks and whites have different cultures which place emphasis on alternative values or goals, and that the goals valued by the white culture, but not the black, account for the relative failure of blacks to compete or achieve at the same level as whites.

A third explanatory mode is one which we have come to label as an "overt social" explanatory form. This viewpoint essentially argues that difference in social position has its origin in organized forms of white oppression and discrimination, and that this discrimination continues into the present, even though the specific institutional mechanisms by which it is enforced may have undergone changes over time.

The fourth explanatory mode, the "latent social" one, is similar to the overt explanation in that it locates the basic causes of inequality in the white community, but differs in that the organized racial oppression of the past is not seen as continuing into the present. Existing differences are seen as being a legacy of past discrimination; the problem is now one of dealing with the effects of previous discrimination in order

to permit blacks the opportunity to compete with whites on equal terms.

A fifth mode type is that which sees racial differences being explained by biological factors. Inequalities between blacks and whites are primarily to be explained by the biological inferiority of blacks. The genetic features of blacks which account for their social inferiority may be modified by social factors, but the differences are, at root, biological.

The sixth and final mode type is the religious one. The socially inferior position of blacks is to be attributed to religious causes; "God made the races different." Again, as in the case of the biological explanatory mode, the differences may be modified by social considerations, but the religious explanation is the most fundamental principle.

Methodological Strategy and Summary Evidence

To evaluate the utility of our theoretical model for developing viable social indicators of racial attitudes, the conceptual components were operationalized in the context of a structured interview survey. Data were collected from a cross-sectional sample of the adult population of the five-county San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. The survey employed a three-stage area probability sample which utilized the maps and statistical reports of the 1970 U.S. Census as its basic sampling frame. Census tracts were the primary sampling units. City blocks (or block equivalents) were used for the second stage of sampling.

Individual housing units were the listing elements. Respondents were selected by probability methods employing respondent selection tables described by Kish (pp. 398-401).

Interviewers were of the same race as the respondent. Interviews averaged about 70 minutes in length. A 75.4 percent response rate was attained with occupied households, varying from slightly under 70 percent complete in central city areas to more than 90 percent complete in one suburban county. The sample was weighted for the probability of selection and for nonresponse, then adjusted to return the weighted sample to a convenient size. Data in this paper are reported for the weighted white sample of 698 respondents (actual N = 682).

Our group cooperated in the survey as part of a larger project working on the development of social indicators. In practice this meant being allocated 15 minutes of questions on the interview schedule. The questions operationalized the three conceptual components of the theoretical model: perception, explanation, and prescription. This approach was used to see if the population does employ these explanatory modes, if it does so in a consistent fashion, if these modes are predictive of various policy positions, and if they are differentially related to background variables. In addition, we were interested in establishing that the explanatory modes are not reducible to the various background variables included in our study. Major attention and interview time were devoted to four questions directed to measuring explanatory modes

(see Figures 1-4). The explanatory mode questions were formulated both to evaluate our operationalization of the mode types and to explore the generalizability of explanatory modes to other social phenomena. Two questions asked for explanations of racial differences and two asked for explanations of more generalized inequalities with respect to health and poverty.

Figure 5 illustrates the degree to which white respondents did in fact distinguish among the various explanatory modes and the degree to which they did so in a consistent fashion. The most important reason that the respondent chose to explain the given differences is used as a measure of the respondent's self-selected mode category. When the mode questions pertaining to black socioeconomic status and black performance on I.Q. tests are cross-tabulated, 50 percent of the respondents are consistent (on the diagonal) from one question to the next. Similar, though somewhat weaker results are obtained when the two race-related mode questions are cross-tabulated with questions dealing with more generalized inequalities. For example, when the black socio-economic status question is run against the poverty question, 33% of the respondents are consistent, and when the black I.Q. question is run against the poverty question, 32% of the respondents are consistent. These results indicate that there is a substantial amount of consistency in the mode position of the white respondents even when they are forced to choose between competing explanations.

To improve on respondents' self-selected mode position, six explanatory mode scales were developed using respondents' choices on each of the mode items for all four questions. Items designed to measure the same explanatory mode varied in terms of their acceptability to respondents (see Figure 6). For example, 303 respondents agreed strongly or somewhat with the Alger item for the socioeconomic question on black/white differences, whereas only 83 respondents mentioned the Alger item as important for explaining black/white differences in I.Q. test scores. Difficulty of items was taken into account by performing six separate factor analyses for each of the explanatory modes to provide weightings for the items. For each explanatory mode scale, the items were standardized, weighted by their factor loadings, summed, and then the final scores again standardized. Respondents were then assigned to an explanatory mode category on the basis of their highest score on all six scales.

Questions were asked to determine whether explanatory modes predict personal and policy orientation. In general, we find this to be the case (see Figures 7 and 8). For example, when the explanatory modes are cross-tabulated with willingness to bus one's own child to an integrated school, different explanatory modes lead to varying positions on the busing issue. In this particular example, those in the Alger and Genetic modes are the most conservative respondents, followed by those in the Supernatural and Culture modes. In general respondents in the Alger,

Genetic and Supernatural modes are the three more conservative types, with the Culture types tending to fall in the middle. However, this middle position appears to be a consequence of the fact that respondents who choose this mode are from two distinct groups. One group sees black culture as different from white, while a second group views it as both different and inferior. Those in the Latent and Overt modes are, as is generally the case on policy issues, the most liberal.

A series of cross-tabulations were conducted to assess the differential recruitment into explanatory mode categories of respondents from different segments of the social structure. In general, we find that this differential recruitment does occur (see Figure 9). Respondents for whom the Alger or Genetic modes of explanation are dominant tend to be less educated and older, Supernatural to be female, less educated and older, Overt to be younger and male, and Latent to be younger and more educated.

Finally, we related the mode positions of the respondents to the basic structural variables in such a way that we could assess the independent predictive power of the modes with respect to the background variables. We found that the relationships between the mode positions and policy preferences are not reducible to those which exist between basic structural variables and policy preferences (see Figure 10).

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Figure 1. Question on Socioeconomic Status.

We've asked questions like this of quite a few people by now, both blacks and whites, and they have very different ideas about why, on the average, white people get more of the "good things of life" in America than black people.

a. I will read you some of the reasons people have given including some things that other people don't agree with at all. For each I'd like you to tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. Here are the answers on this card. First...

		Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	Can't Say
ALGER*	It's really a matter of blacks not trying as hard as whites; if blacks tried harder they'd be just as well off.....	1	2	3	4	5
SUPER-NATURAL	God made the races different as part of his divine plan...	1	2	3	4	5
GENETIC**	Blacks come from a less able race and this explains why blacks are not as well off as whites.....	1	2	3	4	5
CULTURE	Black Americans teach their children values which are different from those which are required to be successful in America...	1	2	3	4	5
OVERT	Powerful and wealthy white people purposely act to keep black people down....	1	2	3	4	5
LATENT	Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for black people to work their way out of the lower class.....	1	2	3	4	5

b. IF STRONGLY AGREES WITH MORE THAN ONE REASON OR IF STRONGLY AGREES WITH NONE BUT AGREES SOMEWHAT WITH MORE THAN ONE REASON. ASK: Of the reasons you said you (strongly) agreed with, which do you think is the most important reason why whites are better off than blacks? (POINT OUT TIED ITEMS ON SHOWN PAGE.)

Most Important Reason is #_____

*Order of presentation of explanatory mode questions was randomized on original questionnaire, and category labels were not included.
**This response category was not included for black respondents.

Figure 2. Question on I.Q.

Here is a card with different reasons people have given to explain why blacks don't seem to do as well on intelligence tests as whites. (HAND CARD) Which comes closest to your view? First, (READ REASON)...

		Mentioned	Not Mentioned
ALGER*	Black people score less well than white people because they do not try hard enough	1	2
SUPER-NATURAL	God gave different gifts to different races for reasons we cannot understand.....	1	2
GENETIC**	By nature, black people just are less intelligent on the average than white people.....	1	2
CULTURE	In general, black people don't put much value on doing well on intelligence tests; they're more interested in other things....	1	2
OVERT	White people purposely designed intellignece tests to favor themselves.....	1	2
LATENT	The tests are made for middle class white people and the tests turn out to be unfair to black people.....	1	2

b. IF MORE THAN ONE REASON MENTIONED:
Which of these reasons do you think the most important in explaining why blacks don't seem to do as well on intelligence tests?

Most Important Reason is #_____

*Order of presentation of explanatory mode questions was randomized on original questionnaire, and category labels were not included.

**This response category was not included for black respondents.

Figure 3. Question on Health.

a. Some people live to a ripe old age, while others die in the prime of life. Here on this card are reasons other people have offered as to why they think this is so. (HAND CARD)
Which comes closest to your view? First, (READ REASONS) ...

		Mentioned	Not Mentioned
ALGER*	It mostly depends on how people take care of themselves...	1	2
SUPER-NATURAL 1	It's in the hands of God.....	1	2
SUPER NATURAL 2	It's mostly a matter of good or bad luck..	1	2
GENETIC	It's mostly a matter of the survival of the fittest.....	1	2
OVERT	It's mostly because the medical profession has prevented the government from making medical care equally available to all people	1	2
LATENT	It's mostly because some people are in a position so that they can buy medical services and others can't.....	1	2
	Other reasons (SPECIFY:_____ _____).		

b. IF MORE THAN ONE REASON MENTIONED: Which do you guess is more (most) important?

Most Important Reason is #_____

*Order of presentation of explanatory mode categories was randomized on original questionnaire, and category labels were not included.

Figure 4. Question on Poverty.

a. As you know, even though America is a wealthy nation, there still are many people living here who are poor. I will read you some reasons people have offered to explain why this is so, and I'd like you to tell me for each whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly. Here are the answers on this card. (HAND CARD)

		Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	Can't Say
ALGER*	Poor people simply don't want to work hard.....	1	2	3	4	5
SUPER-NATURAL	There are poor people because God made it so.....	1	2	3	4	5
GENETIC	Being poor is the result of having been born without the talents to get ahead..... ..	1	2	3	4	5
CULTURE	Poor people are used to being poor because they grew up with it and it is a way of life for them.....	1	2	3	4	5
OVERT	The poor are poor because the wealthy and powerful keep them poor.....	1	2	3	4	5
LATENT	The poor are poor because the American way of life doesn't give all people an equal chance	1	2	3	4	5

b. IF STRONGLY AGREES WITH MORE THAN ONE REASON OR IF STRONGLY AGREES WITH NONE BUT SOMEWHAT AGREES WITH MORE THAN ONE REASON, ASK: I see you (strongly) agreed with (two, three, etc.) of the reasons for people being poor. Which one of these do you think is most important? (READ TIED ITEMS OR POINT OUT ON SHOWN PAGE.)

Most Important Reason is #_____

*Order of presentation of explanatory mode categories was randomized on original questionnaire, and category labels were not included.

Figure 5. Consistency of Respondents Self Selected Explanatory Mode Category (Most Important Reason) On Questions About Poverty, Black Socioeconomic Status, and Black I.Q.

% OF WHITE RESPONDENTS. WEIGHTED.

I.Q. QUESTION

SES QUESTION	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent	(N)
Alger	5%	2	3	5	*	3	120
Supernatural	2	4	1	2	*	2	71
Genetic	1	*	1	*	0	1	21
Culture	1	*	1	2	0	3	42
Overt	1	*	0	1	1	5	49
Latent	3	3	2	5	1	37	321
(N)	75	61	53	99	17	319	100%=624

AR=(74)

50% of R's Consistent (on diagonal)

POVERTY QUESTION

SES QUESTION	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent	(N)
Alger	6%	2	2	6	3	1	116
Supernatural	1	2	1	2	1	2	64
Genetic	*	0	1	1	*	1	19
Culture	1	*	1	3	*	1	35
Overt	1	0	1	1	4	2	52
Latent	3	*	5	17	10	17	322
(N)	74	27	66	182	111	149	100%=608

AR=(90)

33% of R's Consistent

POVERTY QUESTION

I.Q. QUESTION	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent	(N)
Alger	5%	*	1	3	1	1	65
Supernatural	*	2	1	3	2	2	55
Genetic	2	*	1	3	1	1	46
Culture	2	2	2	6	3	2	99
Overt	1	0	*	*	1	1	16
Latent	2	1	5	15	11	17	302
(N)	69	28	64	173	110	139	100%=584

AR=(114)

32% of R's Consistent

*0.4% or Less

Figure 6. Summary of Marginals for Explanatory Mode Items Included in Scales.

WHITES ONLY. WEIGHTED N = 698

% Mentioned (Health, I.Q.) and % Agree* (Poverty, SES)

*Total of Agree Strongly and Agree Somewhat

	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent
Health	*	35.2% (246)	*	**	11.4% (79)	19.7% (138)
Poverty	27.7% (193)	11.4% (80)	24.1% (168)	56.4% (394)	46.4% (323)	42.6% (298)
SES	43.4% (303)	34.4% (240)	22.6% (158)	38.7% (270)	43.3% (303)	76.0% (530)
I.Q.	11.9% (83)	10.9% (76)	9.5% (66)	20.8% (145)	4.7% (33)	47.7% (333)
Av. # R's Endorsing	(193.0)	(160.5)	(130.7)	(269.7)	(184.5)	(324.8)

Factor Analysis of Explanatory Mode Items, for Each Mode Separately, to Provide Weights for Scaling. Whites Only. Weighted

	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent
Health	*	.708	*	**	.561	.533
Poverty	.793	.648	.464	.543	.805	.741
SES	.802	.718	.809	.708	.760	.712
I.Q.	.645	.650	.750	.620	.335	.728

*Health items were dropped for the Alger and Genetic modes because of their low loadings on the factors (Health Alger = -.003; Health Genetic = .134).

**No item to measure culture was included in the health question.

Figure 7. Predictive Power of Explanatory Mode Typology for Selected Prescriptions to Lessen Racial Inequalities. Whites Only. Weighted

	Alger	Super-natural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent	Total Sample
Bus Own Child:							
If you had the chance would you be personally willing to...have a child of yours bused to an integrated school?							
Yes	14.4%	21.7%	14.1%	21.1%	52.8%	57.7%	33.0%
No	81.5	74.3	85.0	76.4	42.5	38.2	63.4
Can't say and no answer	4.1	4.0	1.0	2.5	4.8	4.2	3.6
Work for Voter Registration:							
If you had the chance would you be personally willing...to spend some of your free time working in a campaign to get more black people to register and vote?							
Yes	29.2%	37.9%	27.2%	28.8%	59.5%	73.0%	45.5%
No	69.1	54.1	71.3	67.3	37.9	25.3	51.3
Can't say and no answer	1.7	8.1	1.6	3.9	2.6	1.6	3.2
General Miscegenation Attitudes:							
Which of the statements comes closest to your personal feelings about marriage between blacks and whites?							
Blacks and whites should marry their own kind	33.3%	43.4%	47.6%	19.5%	10.9%	3.5%	23.7%
It's not a good idea for blacks and whites to marry because their children will suffer	41.8	31.0	36.1	37.4	23.5	18.4	30.2
People should marry anyone they choose regardless of race	24.9	23.4	15.3	43.1	63.9	78.0	45.2
Can't say and no answer	0.0	2.2	1.0	0.0	1.7	0.2	.8
Own Child Miscegenation Attitudes:							
Suppose you had a child who wanted to marry a black person who had a good education and a good job. How would you feel about this?							
Not care either way	4.4%	5.5%	0.0%	9.0%	7.6%	16.5%	8.1%
Approve	6.9	9.0	8.6	21.5	44.1	45.0	24.8
Disapprove but keep silent	22.0	28.0	10.9	16.7	16.2	18.2	19.0
Object	61.2	51.9	77.9	42.5	26.5	17.3	42.6
No answer and other	5.5	5.7	2.7	10.3	5.4	3.1	5.4
100%=(N)	(110)	(117)	(79)	(117)	(116)	(160)	(698)

Figure 8. Predictive Power of Explanatory Mode Typology for Selected Prescriptions to Lessen Racial Inequalities. Whites only. Weighted.

	Alger	Super-natural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent	Total Sample
Support for Government Activism:							
Which of the statements...comes closest to your overall feelings about how much federal and state governments should be doing to help black people in the United States?							
'The government shouldn't be doing anything at all; it should be left up to individuals	24.3%	6.9%	13.9%	14.4%	10.5%	5.7%	12.0%
'Nothing more; Government has done too much already	9.4	4.3	15.0	4.2	0.0	2.2	5.1
'Nothing more; What government is doing now is enough	23.9	19.9	26.5	31.5	3.3	2.9	16.6
'No new laws are necessary, but the present laws against discrimination should be much more strictly enforced	29.6	44.5	30.0	31.6	32.2	54.5	38.6
'New and tougher laws against racial discrimination should be passed and strictly enforced	6.8	15.6	10.2	11.1	31.7	25.0	17.7
'I think the federal and state governments in America are racist and it's unrealistic to expect them to help black people	1.4	0.7	1.6	2.6	16.4	8.2	5.6
'Other, don't know, and no answer	4.7	8.2	2.9	4.7	6.0	1.5	4.6
100% = (N)	(110)	(117)	(79)	(117)	(116)	(160)	(698)

Recomputation of above table to demonstrate the relationship between respondents' explanatory mode category and support for government activism, compared to the average person. Statistic is (observed frequency - expected frequency)/expected frequency, an over/under selection measure. Positive values range from 0 to no fixed upper limit; negative values range from -1.00 to 0.

	Alger	Super-natural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent
Leave up to individuals	1.03	-.43	.16	.20	-.13	-.53
Government has done too much already	.84	-.16	1.94	-.18	-1.00	-.57
Government is doing enough	.44	.20	.60	.90	-.80	-.83
Enforce present laws	-.23	.15	-.22	-.18	-.17	.41
Pass and enforce tougher laws	-.62	-.12	-.42	-.37	.79	.41
Governments are racist	-.75	-.88	-.71	-.54	1.93	.46

Figure 9. Recruitment of Respondents from Different Segments of the Social Structure into The Explanatory Mode Categories. Whites Only. Weighted.

	Alger	Supernatural	Genetic	Culture	Overt	Latent
Male	-.04	-.33	.08	.09	.28	-.03
Female	.01	.25	-.05	-.06	-.21	.02
Less Educated	.32	.25	.23	.03	-.02	-.52
More Educated	-.32	-.24	-.25	-.03	.04	.51
Younger	-.34	-.38	-.35	-.16	.36	.54
Older	.30	.32	.31	.15	-.32	-.47
Male Less Educated	.26	-.16	.56	.19	.37	-.74
More Educated	-.29	-.51	-.39	.01	.20	.56
Female Less Educated	.37	.50	.02	-.08	-.28	-.39
More Educated	-.34	-.01	-.17	-.07	-.13	.47
Male Younger	-.31	-.47	-.27	-.16	.53	.42
Older	.32	-.22	.46	.38	.00	-.56
Female Younger	-.37	-.30	-.38	-.15	.21	.65
Older	.28	.65	.18	.01	-.51	-.44
Less Educated Younger	.13	-.11	-.07	-.15	.40	-.15
Older	.45	.45	.43	.14	-.28	-.75
More Educated Younger	-.67	-.56	-.54	-.19	.38	1.02
Older	.11	.16	.10	.16	-.36	-.10
Male Less Educated Younger	.10	-.04	.15	.04	.65	-.62
Older	.42	-.20	.97	.25	.08	-.87
More Educated Younger	-.64	-.73	-.70	-.32	.51	1.23
Older	.14	-.17	-.01	.42	-.08	-.27
Female Less Educated Younger	.17	-.08	-.32	-.36	.11	.34
Older	.46	.80	.17	.09	-.45	-.72
More Educated Younger	-.70	-.43	-.41	-.02	.27	.85
Older	.06	.41	.09	-.06	-.59	.03
(N)	(110)	(117)	(79)	(117)	(116)	(160)

Statistic is (observed frequency - expected frequency)/expected frequency, an over/under selection measure. This statistic demonstrates the relationship between respondents' structural position and explanatory mode category as compared to the average person. Positive values range from 0 to no fixed upper limit; negative values range from -1.00 to 0.

Education dichotomy: less educated = high school graduate or less; more educated = some college or more.
Age dichotomy: Younger = 39 years old or less; older = 40 years old or more.

Figure 10. Partial Correlations between Mode Scale Position and Policy Orientation, Controlling for Age and Education. Whites only. Weighted.

	Mode Position and Policy Orientation			Mode Position and Policy Orientation Controlling for Age			Mode Position and Policy Orientation Controlling for Education		
	Vote for Black Candidate	Work on Voter Registration	Bus Own Child	Black Candidate	Voter Registration	Bus Own Child	Black Candidate	Voter Registration	Bus Own Child
Alger	-.218	-.321	-.390	-.150	-.273	-.330	-.164	-.265	-.314
Supernatural	-.218	-.156	-.259	-.174	-.115	-.212	-.167	-.089	-.174
Genetic	-.246	-.242	-.283	-.179	-.185	-.211	-.211	-.200	-.228
Culture	-.097	-.142	-.180	-.068	-.119	-.152	-.081	-.125	-.159
Overt	.035	.190	.238	-.032	.142	.179	.032	.190	.244
Latent	.243	.378	.424	.171	.332	.363	.188	.326	.348